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To claim that, because US tests will be held over "the open sea," they will "rule out any problem of fallout in the immediate area of testing," thus implying that the Soviet tests, which were conducted in the Arctic, created just such a problem, is disingenuous. Leaving aside questions of amount, altitude of shots or wind and weather conditions, fallout over Novaya Zemlaya is no different from fallout over Christmas Island. No one supposes that tests have been or will be conducted over populated places. Moreover, as Kennedy knows, fallout over the test area itself is only part of the story. Radioactive debris spreads and circulates in time over an enormous area, and these secondary effects raise many difficulties and dangerous health problems imperfectly understood and impossible to solve.

Nor does the fact that our tests will take place over the Pacific -- a soothing name -- make them more peaceful than tests conducted over the Arctic. The truth is simple: the Soviet tests were immoral; ours are immoral;

neither promotes life; both promote its extinction.

As for Kennedy's statements that he finds it "deeply regrettable" that any radioactive material must be added to the atmosphere, "that even one additional individual's health may be risked in the foreseeable future"; and that, "however remote and infinitesimal those hazards are judged to be, I still exceedingly regret the necessity of balancing these hazards against the hazards to hundreds of millions of lives which would be created by any decline in our nuclear strength" -- these are examples of bathos. "This hurts me more than it hurts you," may be suitable sentiment for father when he punishes his son with a strap; but Kennedy is not my father, not the father of his country, let alone the father of mankind. I am not moved by his "regrets"; I regard them as an inadequate solatium for the poisoning of the air. Instead of oratory about human freedom and decency, I suggest that if we want to do something to promote peace we begin by being peaceful.

# A Policy of Peaceful Engagement

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## *How We Can Profit from Communist Disunity*

by Zbigniew Brzezinski

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The purpose of containment was to prevent Soviet expansion; the purpose of liberation was to roll back Communist frontiers. These policies have ceased to be relevant. Both were based on the premise that there is a united Soviet bloc. In the Sixties, however, the unity of the Communist camp is strained by the increasingly open Sino-Soviet dispute. In recent days the Poles have taken the unprecedented step of republishing a secret speech delivered by Luigi Longo in December, 1960, in Moscow, during which Longo charged the Chinese with "blatant" attacks on Khrushchev; and Suslov, writing in *Kommunist*, has labeled support for the Albanians as "alien to the spirit of Leninism." The escalation of the Sino-Soviet dispute is evident.

From a defense point of view, one can perhaps still

speak of a "bloc" in the sense that an attack by the "imperialist enemy" on any one member of the bloc would provoke ultimately a reaction from the others. But offensively, it is no longer a bloc. Rather, there are two constellations within it: the Soviet Union and the East European states, and the Chinese-Albanian alignment -- supported on some issues by the North Koreans and North Vietnamese, although these last two parties prefer to maintain a neutral position insofar as the Sino-Soviet breach is concerned.

From the standpoint of Western policy, it is dangerous to assume that the internal conflicts of the Communist world will necessarily lead to a relaxation in international tensions. The short-range consequence of a Sino-Soviet split might be to intensify Soviet tendencies to unilateral, go-it-alone behavior. If an open split takes place it will presumably involve mutual accusations, and the Soviets will be charged by the Chinese with excessive moderation. The split will produce factional struggles in most of the Communist parties,

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